THE New Republic

EISENHOWER SAYS NO TO THE FARMER

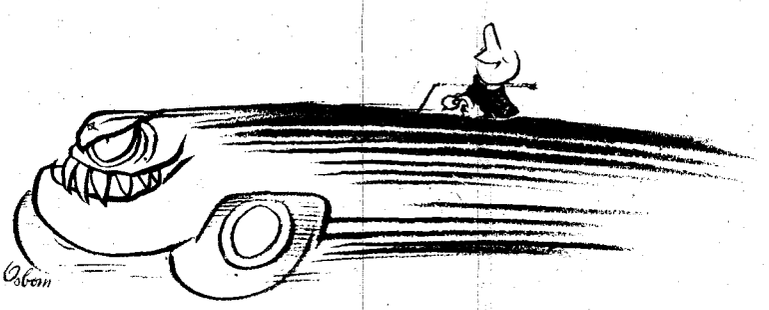
PAGE 3

Ninety-Six Congressmen Versus the Nine Justices

Alexander Bickel on The Southern Manifesto

Growing Up To Be a Nation

By Alexander Kendrick



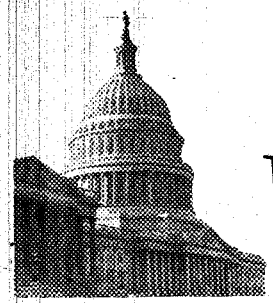
"Sizzling, High-Torque Take-Off"

Walter Goodman Watches the Cars Blaze By

APRIL 23, 1956

20c

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Washington Wire

The Ninth Hole

FOR THE FIRST time in President Eisenhower's public career he felt the breath of substantial personal criticism last week. In the midst of the farm bill crisis, of the Palestine crisis, he was playing golf at Augusta. The American White House at a time of anxious stress was transferred to the little office above the pro shop at the Augusta National Golf Course.

News reporters don't editorialize on such matters, but every dispatch from Augusta was an editorial. Some of Ike's supporters winced. Golfing while the world burned. We wonder that the astute Jim Hagerty ever let the President take this vacation. Ike has been out of Washington one-third of the time since his inauguration, but his absence this past week hurt him most. It was the week that a national farm organization ironically addressed its appeal to him to sign the farm bill to the ninth hole of the course, and the week that Harry Truman called him a "do-nothing" President.

We often wonder what lies ahead for Eisenhower. Search through his career and you will find that he has never felt the sting of extended personal attack. He likes to be liked. He may or may not be a great President, but he is far and away the most popular one in American history.

What happens to a very sensitive man when he is finally treated like other political leaders—when he is held personally responsible? If re-elected, how does it affect his 66th and 70th years? This column makes no bones about the fact that it regards the farm measure as a bad bill, going in two directions at once. But it marks the point where the Democrats finally put the responsibility on Ike. He is the President, not Benson, not Adams, not Hagerty. Criticism is not *lese majesté*. Almost for the first time last week there was a ripple of perception of this, and a little growl of irritation.

Hagerty's sharp response to Truman indicated that a raw nerve had been touched. For the first time no golfing pictures of Ike were permitted, and the party returned a day earlier than planned. Meanwhile, as though to counteract any bad impression, the White House scheduled Ike for three big events on his return to Washington: his farm bill statement, a political speech and winding up this weekend with a foreign-affairs broadcast.

Slanting the News

WE ALWAYS note those hypodermic jabs of bias *Time* magazine deftly inserts into its news summaries. "It was to be just the kind of political gathering [Adlai] Stevenson likes," *Time* explained with suave malice April 2, "a black tie dinner (he wore a red tartan dinner jacket) with only his really good friends in politics invited—the *wealthy, intellectual, aristocratic amateurs*" [our italics]. That is expert political sniping, of course, as feline and mischievous as anything Clare Booth Luce herself put into her play *The Women*. It will be hard to maintain this level, but we are confident *Time* can do it. A later issue, April 16, estimates that "85 percent" of Washington correspondents normally favor the Democrats. Why is this? Well, of course, they see the Administration at first hand. We guess the estimated figure is a little high, but we also guess a partial answer is simple distaste among reporters for the kind of publisher-bias which *Time* magazine so skillfully symbolizes.

Oil and Politics

IN CASE you have forgotten about it the Senate McClellan Committee is still investigating lobbying. We don't think it will get far. Above all, we don't think it will undermine the central economic fact of oil lobbying. Oil gets the biggest single tax concession of any American industry, the 27.5 percent depletion allowance. Oil has made the gaudiest profits, oil has made the fattest billionaires, of this generation. It is the oil industry that picks up the largest checks for political expenses. It gets paid back in Congress by the tidelands oil bill and the bill for the natural gas grab. Already the White House has quietly intimated that gas bill, a statement which alone practically assures all the campaign money that the GOP and friendly Democrats will need.

Howard Keck's Superior Oil Company (whose employees tried to influence Sen. Francis Case) made profits of $12 million in 1953—paid no taxes. Why? —the depletion allowance. Other corporations normally pay 52-percent income tax; latest figures reveal that the 35 biggest oil companies, however, (producing two-thirds of the nation's oil) paid less than 30 percent. The depletion loophole again. While taxes increase for the little man the depletion allowance idea spreads for corporations. Practically all extractive industry now benefits. As long as there's a depletion allowance, oil will lobby.

Prosperity for Some

ONE OF THE most deceptive economic indices in Washington at the present time is that which shows the cost of living as stable. The fact is that you have inflation in manufactured goods, in services, rents and many wholesale prices, but these are balanced off for the time being by the declining farm prices of food and clothing. It is the average which remains statistically level, not the fact.

The wholesale price of farm products has plummeted down 30 points since 1951. It has offset the steady rise of living costs elsewhere. The farmer is carrying "stability" on his back. How long will he do it? Unless he is to be ruined the drop must stop somewhere, and then the over-all living cost average will start up. There are signs the process is starting.

The United States' economic capacity is limited at the moment by scarce mineral supplies (steel, nickel and copper are examples). Prices have steadily risen for some years; now the steel industry is getting ready for a killing. It is going to grant workers a wage boost on the new 1956 contract, then use this as an excuse for a really whopping price increase. Steel heads make no secret of their intention. The man in the street has little way of knowing when a 5-percent wage boost is turned into a 10-percent price hike.

T.R.B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Republic
A JOURNAL OF OPINION

APRIL 23, 1956

THE WEEK 3
Eisenhower Says No; The Fifth Amendment; Who Is the Negro's Friend; "What I Believe . . ."; The Ghost of Alger Hiss; Trial Run by Malenkov; Mollet's Uncertain Future.
ARTICLES 8
The Superficial Aspect by Gerald W. Johnson
"Sizzling, High-Torque Take-Off" by Walter Goodman
Ninety-Six Congressmen vs. the Nine Justices by Alexander M. Bickel
Growing Up To Be a Nation by Alexander Kendrick
BOOKS AND COMMENT . . 17
The New Conservatives by M. J. Frisch
Lucy Crown; Six Keys to the Soviet System
FILMS 20
THEATRE 21
LETTER FROM OXFORD . . 22
VOL. 134, No. 17, ISSUE 2161

Eisenhower Says No

The Republican Party is pledged to the sustaining of the 90-per-cent-parity price support and it is pledged even more than that to helping the farmer obtain his full parity, 100 percent parity, with the guarantee in the price supports of 90.—*Brookings, S. D., October 4, 1952.*

To return now to wartime 90-percent supports would be wrong. Production would be stimulated. Markets would be further destroyed, instead of expanded as must be done. . . . It is inconceivable that we should ask farm families to go deeper into this self-defeating round of cause and effect.—*Washington, D. C., April 16, 1956.*

THE WORDS are those of Dwight D. Eisenhower, and as a substitute for the vetoed farm bill, the President is proposing only three limited remedies: price supports to achieve an average of 82.5-percent parity in '56; the use by Secretary Benson of $400 million to bolster the price of perishables (whenever such action might be "constructive"); and a soil bank bill stripped of any new price-support features. For the farmers who are hurting the most, the President's remedies are not likely to be swallowed cheerfully.

Millions of corn farmers in Iowa, Illinois and Indiana, for example, were guaranteed a 26-percent rise in income in the corn belt by the legislation Mr. Eisenhower has rejected. Cotton producers would have been assured 33.5¢ a pound for raw cotton, compared with the 27.6¢ guaranteed under present law; and wheat growers in the Dakotas, Kansas and Nebraska would have been assured $2.26 for a bushel of wheat, instead of the present support of $1.78. Net farm income is now about $12 billion a year; by the end of 1956 it would have reached $13 billion or more under the now-dead Democratic bill. By contrast, the price-support increases which Mr. Eisenhower promised in his veto message would raise farm income by $500 to $750 million this year.

A rise in farm income produces a proportional increase in farmers' purchases in market towns and boosts such industrial purchases as farm machinery, trucks and chemical fertilizer. But the bill which the President vetoed would also have meant higher prices in the grocery store, a break in the almost stable cost of living index, and a tighter squeeze upon retired people living on fixed income. Moreover, it is undeniable that the farm bill passed by the Congress would, as the President pointed out, do a poor job of cutting down agricultural surpluses.

The dilemma at the heart of Mr. Eisenhower's choice was this: Would the American people benefit most by boosting farm income for 13 percent of the people at the cost of higher food prices for the other 87 percent, or by maintaining a stationary cost of living. We could not have both. The President chose to penalize the farmer.

Correspondence

► *The White Sulphur Conference*

SIRS:

T.R.B.'s comment on the White Sulphur Springs Conference between Eisenhower, the President of Mexico and the Canadian Prime Minister, which ends with the phrase: "but why, after all, were they there?", reminds me of a Jewish story:

In a small town in Southern Russia there lived a wise Rabbi. Another town, a short distance from there, had no Rabbi. One day, two Jewish merchants in the town without a Rabbi had an altercation and sent for the Rabbi to act as arbitrator. He engaged a coachman to take him there, but as soon as they left town they came to a steep hill, and the coachman said to the Rabbi: "As you see Rabbi, the hill is quite steep, the poor horse is weak, and as it must walk

(*Continued on page 23*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Fifth Amendment

DR. Harry Slochower, an associate professor at Brooklyn College, a publicly supported institution, was called in 1952 before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, investigating subversive influences in the American educational system, and submitted to broad questioning. He refused to say, however, whether he had been a member of the Communist Party in 1940 and 1941, claiming his privilege under the Fifth Amendment against self-incriminating testimony. He was summarily dismissed from his post, under the provisions of Section 903 of the New York City Charter, which provides for automatic discharge of city employees who refuse to answer questions put by a proper authority relating to their official conduct. Some 30 teachers or staff members of the City Boards of Education have been dismissed in New York City since the end of World War II for the same reason. In a decision of potentially far-reaching import, the Supreme Court last week agreed with Dr. Slochower that he had been improperly discharged.

AT A minimum, the decision seems to establish that in a city such as New York, with an elaborate system of tenure for its civil servants and well-developed administrative procedures to assure that they are discharged only for cause, an employee cannot be dismissed *on the sole ground* that he availed himself in a federal hearing of his privilege under the Fifth Amendment. It is important to be precise about what the opinion did *not* hold. It leaves undisturbed the city's power to discharge employees for Communist or other undesirable associations. It suggests, further, that if a responsible superior of Dr. Slochower's had inquired about his Communist affiliations for the purpose of determining his fitness for office, Dr. Slochower could not with impunity have stood mute. And it does not say that the fact that Dr. Slochower pled the Fifth Amendment in a federal proceeding in response to this kind of question could be given no weight under any circumstances by his superiors in determining whether or not to discharge him.

Justice Tom C. Clark's opinion for the five-man majority goes out of its way to dispose of the old saw that government employment is a privilege, not a right. "To state that a person does not have a constitutional right to government employment," he said, "is only to say that he must comply with reasonable, lawful and non-discriminatory terms laid down by the proper authorities." The Court was at pains also to "condemn the practice of imputing a sinister meaning to the exercise of a person's constitutional right under the Fifth Amendment." Contrary to the views of those who have coined the epithet, "Fifth Amendment Communist," the Court has reaffirmed that the federal privilege against self-incrimination may be properly invoked by a person guilty of no offense.

But Dr. Slochower's troubles are not over. The president of Brooklyn College has announced since the decision that formal charges will be preferred under the usual administrative procedures accusing Dr. Slochower of conduct unbecoming a member of a college staff. Thus again, as in the *Nelson* case, the Court does not deny New York city or state power to deal with activities which in its view render its employees unfit to hold office. It simply insists that any action taken should be by procedures which give some assurance that the decision to dismiss will be based on evidence which rationally supports it.

Who Is the Negro's Friend

"I THINK there's been more progress against discrimination in the past three years than as long as I can remember," one lifelong Negro Democrat who is switching to Eisenhower told an interviewer, "and that's what's important to me."

Republicans see this switch as an antidote to the probable loss of farm votes this year. Northern Democrats have nightmares of winning on the farm, only to see their majorities in the big cities wiped out by Negro defections.

Since 1936, 80 percent of the Negro votes have usually gone to the Democratic nominee for President; surveys show only about 50 percent would do so today. On both sides, therefore, there is real enthusiasm for doing something positive to prove each Party's concern for the rights of Negroes. And both sides also want the credit for what Congress finally does.

On April 9, Attorney General Brownell sent a 6-point program to Congress which calls for:

> A six-member bipartisan commission to investigate individual civil-rights grievances; a civil-rights division in the Department of Justice; broader statutes to permit

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1826 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT, *Editor*
GILBERT A. HARRISON, *Publisher*
HELEN FULLER, *Managing Editor*

Robert Evett, *Book Editor* — Selig S. Harrison, *Assoc. Editor*
Delmore Schwartz, *Poetry Editor* — Eric Bentley, *Theatre Critic*
Donald Malcolm, *Staff Writer* — Irvin Shapiro, *Design*
Lucille Davis, *Copy Asst.* — F. R. Ruskin, *Admin. Asst.*

Published weekly and Copyrighted, 1956 in the USA by New Republic, Inc. Phone: REpublic 7-8656. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950, at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 20c; Yearly subscription, $7.00; Foreign, $8.00; Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Please include both old and new addresses.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

federal prosecution of individuals intimidating voters in an election for federal office; authority for the Attorney General to bring civil injunction proceedings in behalf of aggrieved individuals; authority for individuals to take civil-rights grievances directly to a federal court; authority for the Attorney General to bring civil suits against civil-rights conspiracies, such as attempted jury or witness intimidation.

None of these proposals is new. Most of them are contained in Democratically sponsored bills now pending before House and Senate Judiciary Committees. But unquestionably the Brownell proposals would represent a vast advance in preventing mass violence and guaranteeing the right to vote. And these gains are achievable if the President will put his full personal influence to work for the program.

It has been true since 1944 that at any time a majority of the Republicans had chosen to join with the Northern Democrats, they could have enacted new civil-rights laws. But the Republicans have considered it more important to maintain their alliance with the Southern Democrats. A split between Northern Democrats and Republicans over which set of bills to push would make it impossible to line up the two-thirds vote that will be needed to pry any civil-rights bill out of the Rules Committee in the House and cut off a filibuster in the Senate. The question is whether those Democrats and Republicans who have long fought for stronger federal guarantees of civil rights out of principle will put principle first in 1956.

"What I Believe . . ."

"THIS BILL," said the President as he approved the spending of $760 million for four dams on the Upper Colorado River, "represents what I believe in—treating a whole river valley as a unit." But before conservationists cheer Mr. Eisenhower's conversion to what, in June, 1953, he called "creeping socialism," they might note two facts: the most important part of the original Upper Colorado plan from the point of view of efficient generation of power is missing—the Echo Park Dam; and, power made available by the new dams will be sold to private companies, which, having themselves refused to build the dams, will now take the profits which nonprivate enterprise makes possible.

So far, the President's new-found faith has not been matched by works. He has exported the principle by recommending the expenditure of US funds for the Aswan Dam in Egypt; however, not one federal integrated power project has been proposed since Mr. Eisenhower took office. And if the present Upper Colorado project is sound in principle, one wonders why the principle has not been considered relevant to other power-hungry areas: New England, the Northwest, California, Missouri. Or why, in the light of the President's conviction, TVA continues to be harassed by the Bureau of the Budget and Republicans in Congress.

The Ghost of Alger Hiss

NOT THE LEAST of the doubtful distinctions achieved by Alger Hiss is the manner in which the man has contrived to disappear into his own history, leaving behind only his name to conjure with, and becoming, at the age of 51, a sort of national spook. He haunts an entire generation of liberals like the ghost of an old illusion.

Mr. Hiss also occupies a prominent place in the mental life at the other end of the political spectrum, where it is held as an article of faith that demoniacal conspiracies are the stuff of which history is made. There his name is frequently cited as proof that there is nothing wrong with the world today that couldn't be cured by the wholesale incarceration of all Americans whose political thought veers to the left of Alexander Hamilton.

And Alger Hiss—even the name seems a melodramatic contrivance, opening, as it does, on a note of boys' uplift and closing on a monosyllable of derision—Alger Hiss has twice in recent weeks been given to understand that ghosts should be neither seen nor heard. The first of these occasions was the announcement that Livingston T. Merchant, our new ambassador to Canada, was "deeply disturbed" by the idea of Hiss' scheduled appearance before the student debating society at Princeton on April 26. In a telegram to *The Daily Princetonian,* Mr. Merchant insisted that if the students of the Whig-Cliosophic Society permitted Mr. Hiss to emerge from the shadows long enough to address them in the flesh on "The Meaning of Geneva," they would be doing "lasting and irreparable damage to Princeton." University President Harold Dodds was not, however, impressed with Mr. Merchant's theory as to what damages the good name of a university. Princeton had decided, he said, not to submit to alumni protests; the administration was leaving the responsibility for the invitation in the hands of the student group.

But Mr. Hiss was less fortunate in his invitation to speak on that same topic before the Swarthmore chapter of the Students for Democratic Action on March 1. The ADA Executive Committee got word of it and, "after thorough consideration," requested the SDA chapter to call off the séance. The chapter obligingly did so, issuing a statement saying in part:

> The possibility that the ADA Executive Committee decision was in any way a violation of civil liberties or democratic organizational principles was thoroughly considered and clearly repudiated.

We found this greatly reassuring; for a moment we had almost thought otherwise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trial Run by Malenkov

Now that Malenkov has flown back to Moscow, Britain has a much clearer idea of what Russia hopes to gain from the visit of Khrushchev and Bulganin. When Lord Citrine as Chairman of the British Electricity Authority invited a group of Soviet electrical engineers to tour his power stations in a routine visit, he was astonished to hear that the delegation would be led by the formidable Georgi Malenkov. From the moment of his arrival in one of Russia's latest jet airliners Malenkov made it clear that he had come as a stand-in to rehearse for the formal state visit of his colleagues. When his 2,000-mile tour was over the British press agreed unanimously it had been an outstanding success—for Russia.

While he performed his nominal role as an expert on electricity with attentive skill, Malenkov managed to make a deep impression on public opinion wherever he went. Whether kissing babies, joking with housewives or handling a hostile press conference, he—to quote the skeptical *Manchester Guardian*—"achieved a notable success as an ambassador of good will." His main aim, triumphantly fulfilled, was to substitute for the conventional image of a Soviet leader as an inhuman robot, the picture of a friendly, humorous and intelligent politician—in fact the very type which a parliamentary democracy prides itself on producing. His final press conference was quite brilliant in this way. Difficult political questions were turned aside or ignored, while he seized every chance of presenting himself as a human being. Asked what impression Englishwomen made on him he replied, "It is very difficult to make love to women through an interpreter!" On his return to Moscow he bubbled with enthusiasm for "the wonderful British people."

Malenkov's trial run has taught Khrushchev and Bulganin some valuable lessons. Alarmed by Malenkov's success with the public, the British press seized on the visit of the police chief, Ivan Serov, to remind their readers of the mass deportations and political terror on which the Soviet system rests. Serov has now been dropped from the Bulganin-Khrushchev party and Khrushchev is bringing his own son, said to be a student at a technical institute. The Foreign Office has tried to cram the 10 days of the April visit with official functions of every kind. Bulganin and Khrushchev made a public complaint after Malenkov's return that they were not being allowed to meet the man in the street because there were "some forces in England which do not want to permit wider contacts between Soviet leaders and the British people."

Georgi Malenkov charms British workers

Against this background it has become clear that the British and Soviet Governments have opposite ideas about the function of the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit, and that the Russians are more likely to satisfy their purposes than the British. Sir Anthony Eden, who seems to regard his Prime Minister's duties as a tiresome distraction from the diplomatic exercises with which he is more familiar, sees the visit as a high-level reconnaissance in which he will probe the Soviet leaders' intentions on behalf of the Atlantic Alliance. He wants particularly to discuss German reunification and the Middle East. Incidentally he has now come round to the Labour Party's view that he should make a direct approach to Russia about keeping the peace between Israel and the Arabs, since America seems unwilling to assume any responsibility whatever in the dispute. Besides exploring Soviet intentions on these major issues, Eden would like to reach agreement on some minor problems of Anglo-Russian relations, like the pound-ruble exchange rate and the jamming of British broadcasts.

THERE is no sign that the Russians are interested in this type of discussion with Eden. In any case they normally prefer to negotiate through diplomatic channels when they are seriously interested in agreement. Everything suggests that they will use their visit to "revive the spirit of Geneva" by direct appeals to public opinion, while avoiding genuine negotiation on specific issues. This would be consistent with their general policy of softening-up resistance by protestations of friendship without conceding an inch on matters of debate. They cannot wish to commit themselves to precise changes of policy until they have seen how far Western unity can be helped to disintegrate. For example, though Paris and Bonn are now openly at loggerheads over German unity Russia need not yet make up her mind whether a pro-French or pro-German line on Europe will pay her the highest dividends.

Providing the void in Western leadership can somehow be filled, Russia's present successes with public opinion need not do much real damage. When Malenkov was in London he sought private conversations with Hugh Gaitskell, the new leader of the Labour Party. If he expected that a personal approach would in itself change Labour policy, he was badly disappointed. The Labour Party has just reaffirmed its absolute rejection of Soviet-type Communism; indeed the British Communists have recently deplored the fact that even the extreme Left of the Labour Party is Trotskyist rather than pro-Russian in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its sympathies. And though Khrushchev and Bulganin may enjoy a popular success no less startling than Malenkov's, such a change in Britain's attitude toward Soviet personalities is not likely to increase the pressure for a change in attitude toward Soviet policies. Indeed Eden must be more worried about allied misunderstanding of the British reaction to the Soviet visit than he is about the public reaction in itself.

London

Mollet's Uncertain Future

UP TO NOW the French National Assembly has given Socialist Premier Guy Mollet its overwhelming backing, with opposition confined to the Poujadists, the splinter of Fascists, about half of the peasants and some of the members of the large and conservative Independent Party, and yet Mollet's future is less than secure. The new Premier has certainly done his best to satisfy a variety of viewpoints. He has soothed the Catholics by not permitting his cabinet to take an official stand on the issue of state subsidies for Catholic private schools and further gratified the Catholic MRP Party by refusing to give the Foreign Ministry to his principal ally, Pierre Mendès-France.

Mollet's economic platform is nowhere near as radical as the program outlined in the Socialist Party's campaign leaflets last December; his measures on aid to the aged, increased vacation time, and gradual equalization of provincial wages with those in Paris, are about as radical as the program proposed by President Eisenhower to Congress. On Algeria, the Premier has responded to pressure from militants within his party by promising land redistribution and the breaking up of the big agricultural estates, but thus far priority has been given to the maintenance of order by military measures.

Premier Mollet

The attitude of the Communists to the Mollet performance is curious. Communist groups are accused of leading conspiracies against the French military in North Africa; they have worked with Algerian labor groups in metropolitan France; yet the Communists recently voted in the French Parliament for the stiff military measures in Algeria proposed by the Republican Front. The Communists' justification for this behavior is that they wish to preserve labor unity between the Socialist and Communist Parties. At the time of Mollet's investiture as Premier, the speech by Communist Chief Jacques Duclos was dramatic and shrewd, managing to convey the impression that he spoke more officially for the Socialists than Mollet himself. As a result Mollet was forced to state that no promises had been made to the Communists and to complain in a half humorous tone of the "devouring friendship" of the 150 Communists in the Assembly.

But at the same time, Mollet and his foreign minister, Christian Pineau, have made neutralist-tinged statements which are well received by the extreme Left. The Premier has pleased Russia by accusing the United States of seeking to control other governments when it grants foreign aid, a pronouncement which of course also won the approval of many old-line Socialists, and of conservative nationalists who wish France to pursue a more independent line.

Another recent move by the Mollet cabinet pleased the nationalist conservatives and was *not* well received by liberals in the Republican Front. The government put Claude Bourdet, editor of the Marxist newspaper *France-Observateur* in jail over the Easter week-end on the ground that Bourdet had used the columns of the *Observateur* to demoralize French youth in the army; it then freed him provisionally. Although Bourdet's newspaper zig-zags in a peculiar fashion and opposes the Algerian war, it cannot be classed as party-line. It attacks the leadership of the French Communists, mocked the cult of Stalinism before it became so fashionable, and criticizes Soviet Russia. Bourdet himself was decorated by de Gaulle after the war and was a close associate of Socialist President Vincent Auriol.

The current *France-Obervateur* shows photographs of leaflets distributed by Mollet's own party during the December election campaign, which opposed the spending of billions of francs on war in North Africa, and which demanded that French youth be freed from military conscription. Thus *France-Obervateur* demands who has "demoralized" the army more, Claude Bourdet or the Republican Front.

CURRENT criticism of Mollet emanates not only from the no-man's land between Communism and Socialism, but also from within the Republican Front itself. There is much talk of a break between Mollet and Mendès-France, who remains Vice-Premier without any special responsibility. One of Mendès' most faithful admirers, François Mauriac, bitterly attacked Mollet shortly after he came to power. The great Catholic novelist and pamphleteer accused the Premier of sacrificing Mendès to the old conservative majority, of sacrificing liberal colonial policy to the Fascist mob in Algiers. Mauriac sneered at Mollet's stoical courage in the face of the tomatoes which were thrown at him when he visited Algeria and compared the prime minister with a stilted schoolmaster who allows his pupils to throw spit-balls at him, without flinching under the attack.

Paris

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Superficial Aspect

Splitting the Party

ONE OF the oddities of this campaign year is the fact that the Northwestern and Southeastern corners of the republic are facing the same political conundrum, but with the terms reversed.

In the Southeast the question is, When is a Democrat not a Democrat? and the answer is, When he is a Dixiecrat. In the Northwest the question is, When is a Republican not a Republican? and the answer is, When he is a farmer by occupation, by blood or by marriage.

The horny-handed son of toil himself is enduring a slow burn, as is well understood; but so are his sisters and his cousins whom he reckons up by dozens and his aunts, which is not so well understood in the East. The result is that the Republicanism of this region, once comparable to basalt, is now more like a slippery shale, as unstable as a building lot on a Los Angeles hillside.

Sen. Wayne Morse has slid right down into the Democratic Party. Half the populace think that Sen. William Langer is sliding and the papers recently have been commenting on the uncomfortable status of Rep. Usher L. Burdick, technically Republican, actually a Non-Partisan Leaguer, and with a son now running for US Senator on the Democratic ticket. Land ownership, family relationship and the instinct of survival all seem equally effective in eroding party loyalty, which is now close to becoming a facetious term.

Different but comparable forces have been operative in the Southeast. The group that Mr. Truman calls "Strom Thurmond and his boys" with the leverage of local discontents have pried loose the sanctity once firmly attached to the Democratic Party, so that a Democrat has become as hard to identify south of the Potomac as a Republican is west of the Mississippi.

Yet it is inexcusably rash to say that the Southeast is going Republican and the Northwest is going Democratic. They aren't; both regions are simply going sour.

Few observers have given this factor much weight in accounting for Sen. Estes Kefauver's triumph in Minnesota. For three years the leadership of Adlai Stevenson had been devoted to pulling the Democratic Party together. Kefauver was obviously splitting it wide open. When the voters are in a really sour mood they are likely to take the view that a man who splits a party, any party, is doing a good job and ought to be encouraged. So they encouraged Kefauver with unbounded enthusiasm.

Stevenson is too conscientious. Saddled with the titular leadership of a fragmented party, he accepted the responsibility of pulling it together and worked so hard at the job that he gave the impression of being more interested in the party than in the people.

It was an impossible job anyhow. No leader ever pulled the Democratic Party together. Jackson, Cleveland, Wilson and Roosevelt, as far as they were successful, united the party by hammering it together with 10-pound sledges; and Truman kept it from going to pieces in 1948 by bulldozing, not by conciliation.

The prevailing opinion is that Minnesota damaged Stevenson heavily, if it did not sink him; but there is a possibility that it actually saved him. Perhaps it convinced him, as it certainly should have convinced him, that his strategy was wrong. He cannot win as the titular leader, or any other kind of leader, of the Democratic Party because the voters who are going to decide the issue don't give a pair of hoots about the Democratic Party.

Stevenson can win only as the leader of liberalism, with the Democratic Party following, if only for the loaves and fishes. Stevenson's is a sane liberalism, of course, but the country must learn that it is very definitely liberalism and very definitely alive, not nipped and withered by the frosts of 1952.

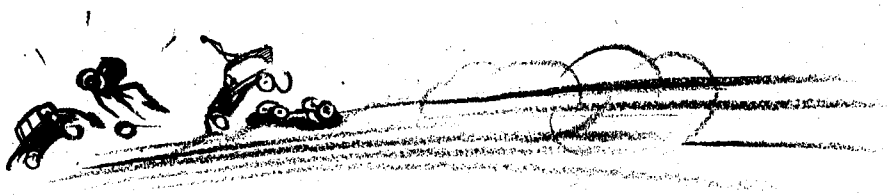
IN THE Northwest and the Southeast certainly, and probably elsewhere as well, the intellectual bankruptcy of both old parties is a factor and an important one in swaying the decision of the voters. For that reason Stevenson's assertion in California that Kefauver is splitting the party was undoubtedly taken by some voters as a recommendation of Kefauver. Like Cordell Hull's juries in Tennessee, the voters will not hold an indictment for murdering the Democratic Party as conclusive. They will still go into the question of whether the victim ought to have been murdered.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

NEXT WEEK: SPRING LITERARY REVIEW

- *A critical selection of the best current novels, with comments by Leslie A. Fiedler, William Arrowsmith and Harvey Curtis Webster.*
- *Essays and reviews by Robert Graves, Geoffrey Gorer, Eric Bentley, V. O. Key Jr., John P. Roche, Allen Raymond, Morton Zabel and others.*
- *New poems by Richard Eberhardt, Jean Garrigue and William Jay Smith.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"Sizzling, High-Torque Take-Off"

by WALTER GOODMAN

THE RIOT in Daytona Beach, Florida, a few weeks ago, when a 4,000-man mob took over the resort town for five hours of a Saturday night, had the effect of obscuring the reason why the rioters were in Daytona in the first place. The young celebrants were there for two weeks of festivities sponsored by the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing. Stirred by the roaring display of speed at the turns and along the straightaways, but unsatisfied with merely vicarious flip-overs and six-car smash-ups, the sportsmen decided to do their own drag racing down the main street of the town. One thing led to another, and it was not till the early hours of Sunday that law and order, in the form of the Florida National Guard, finally cleared the bars. Forty-six persons were jailed on a general charge of affray.

Now let us be fair. Were not those 46 American youths in fact frustrated martyrs to the Cultural Lag of a society whose scientists make machines that go a hundred miles an hour but whose social scientists make laws to keep machines from going more than 60 in the country and 35 in the city?

The speed potential of cars has, to use a word manufactured at the General Motors laboratories, rocketed in the past five years. The 1951 Oldsmobile was equipped with a 135-horsepower engine; in 1955, the Super 88 Olds, having "pioneered the high-compression era with the Rocket Engine," was up to 202 horsepower, or roughly 110 miles per hour with the gas pedal to the floor. And this year its 240-horsepower engine will give 112.8 mph, according to one road test. Furthermore, since 1949 the technicians at Oldsmobile have sliced 3.2 seconds off the time it takes to zoom from a standing start to 60 mph.

Nor is the Olds unchallenged: the '55 Ford Thunderbird had a top speed of 112 mph; the '55 Chrysler New Yorker could do 110; last year's Hudson Hornet VI was able to hit 107 mph if pressed. All are peppier in 1956. As for the little Studebaker, after staggering from it some weeks ago, a *Popular Science* test driver wrote: "The acceleration is most impressive at highway speeds; the problem after passing someone is to keep from storming down the road at an appalling velocity." (Studebaker has now considerately thrown in a $20,000 insurance policy to cover a purchaser "against accidental death occurring while driving and arising out of an accident involving his Studebaker. . . . Yes, it's another outstanding Studebaker first!")

What drives men to storm down roads at appalling velocities? This is a question for the psychologists and sociologists to wrangle over, but whatever the inner compulsions they are being heartily abetted by the automobile industry's army of advertisers, which has made 1956 the year of the Horsepower, with its high-powered hyperbole.

"All-out action!" promises Oldsmobile. "The Rocket T-350—mightiest Rocket ever—blazes forth with an emphatic answer to your demand for power. In a flash you streak from standing to cruising." Chrysler (Tim Flock, winner of the 1955 and 1956 Grand National stock car races, drove a Chrysler both times) is posed before shining planes in magazine layouts: "A more powerful version of the first airplane type V-8 engine in any American car . . . jet-age . . . impatient to get going." Plymouth is positively the "jet age on wheels."

Sometimes it's hard to know just whose product *is* the zippiest. What is one to think when, just after being assured by a man on a TV show called "Climax" that Chrysler, DeSoto, Dodge and Plymouth swept the field, one encounters the following:

> *This year—for the second year in a row*—CHEVROLET was first in acceleration tests from a standing start, and first in the flying mile decisively beating every

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other popular priced automobile at the annual NASCAR events at Daytona Beach, Florida. The victories won by these regular production models provide further proof that *the hot one's even hotter!*

Speaking of temperature, DeSoto possesses a "new and mighty V-8 engine with sizzling, high torque take-off." The Buick is pretty hot too, with its "blazing gait," not to mention its "new breakaway getaway at the very first inch of accelerator pressure." Another nice question for the specialists: What are we all supposed to be breaking away from? And how do you manage it anyhow on jam-packed Sunday afternoon turnpikes? Whatever the answers, the new Pontiac "brightens your life with an all-time high in 'go'! . . . Here is performance as hot as gasoline can get. . . . why settle for second-hand thrills?"

Among those refusing to settle for second-hand thrills are some 40,000 Americans who perish annually in automobile accidents; in two generations, an estimated 45 million people have been injured on the highways. While the men in Detroit were building record-breaking engines last year, our nation's drivers were breaking some records of their own over the long week-ends: Memorial Day—368 deaths; Fourth of July—407 deaths; Labor Day—438 deaths; Christmas—609 deaths; New Year's—342 deaths. Every one a new record, and since we Americans believe that "the difficult we do immediately, the impossible takes longer," there's no reason why we can't make 1956 a bigger year than ever.

A LESS funereal note is struck by *Time* magazine which proved a few weeks ago that greater speed does not mean greater danger: ". . . with better roads and tighter speed controls, the auto death rate in accidents has tumbled spectacularly, from 12 per 100 million miles in 1941 to 6.4 in 1954."

Uncomforted by such statistics, the President tried for the second year in a row to put a damper on our jet-age drivers when he declared December 1 Safety Day. Eisenhower appealed to every American "to help demonstrate tomorrow that we can—by our own personal efforts—reduce accidents on our streets and highways." The citizenry responded with 69 fatalities during the ensuing 24 hours—18 more than on the previous S-Day.

Now, nobody believes in Safety more than the makers of our blazing automobiles. For instance, the pros and cons of "pop-out" windshields are this minute being analyzed by Chrysler's safety engineers. "We believe it is safer to keep passengers inside the car in the event of accidents," states Chrysler Vice President James C. Zeder.

As a matter of fact, it's this overwhelming concern with Safety that's compelling the industrialists to build faster cars; those old ones that had trouble doing 90 mph just were not safe. A week after the Daytona affair, Ed Sullivan's viewers saw for themselves the speed that the '56 Mercury—which apparently took home a snippet of laurel along with every other car in Florida that week—attained round the curves as dust swirled and tires shrieked. For the people who plan Mercury's advertising campaign, speed is linked comfortably to safety: "New 225 or 210-horsepower safety surge V-8 gives you faster-than-ever acceleration where you need it most—for more safety in passing and hill-climbing." (Not, mind you, for hitting and running, making fast getaways after bank stick-ups or beating red lights.)

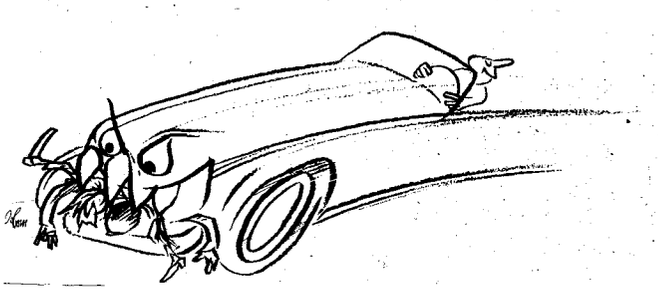
Chevrolet enthusiasts ("second-saving acceleration for safer passing") have come up with the following syllogism: "This is the car, you know, that smashed the Pike's Peak record: That's proof of the kind of performance that puts more safety and fun in your driving."

Buick thoughtfully spells out what subtle Chevy left to the imagination: "At a light, along a turnpike or up a long hill—it moves like pure performance [sic]—with the silent might of flash-fast response of the loftiest, highest-compression horsepower in Buick history." The morally lofty Buick, it may be assumed, does not move this way down a school street, through an intersection, or in a 50-mile-an-hour zone. If this weren't enough, the latest Buick Super can go from 10 to 60 mph in 10 seconds flat; it took the previous model 11 seconds! In 1946 a fellow had to endure an endless half minute of idling at under 60.

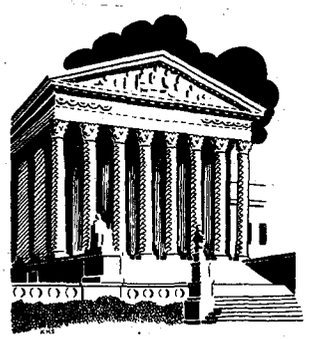
The Ford Motor Co. asks you to "unleash the mighty flood of Lincoln's 285 horsepower." How? " . . . let this Lincoln laze along at legal limits . . . send it bulleting safely around a lumbering truck. . . . " Oh, mighty, law-abiding Lincoln.

Have those young sports who languished in a Daytona jail overnight exerted themselves in vain? Perhaps, for the automotive engineers are working round the clock to increase car safety. Padded sun visors will be standard equipment in our lifetime, and if things go well, by 1960 any housewife will be able to lock her Lifeguard door latch, buckle on her safety seat belt, toot her two-note horn, and get to the neighborhood supermarket at 120 miles per hour without trying.

The promise of the new Chrysler is before us: "When you get in and drive you feel for the first time the most glorious sensation of freedom and release any motorist ever knew." Barely 40,000 sizzling American motorists knew it last year. But we weren't even trying. Just wait.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Ninety-Six Congressmen versus the Nine Justices

by ALEXANDER M. BICKEL

As IT COMES to all words which fall upon days of unceasing and indiscriminate use, a form of senility has come to the word "moderation." It no longer responds sharply and clearly when called. It tends now to shuffle along uncertainly, vacantly, sadly in need of a new birth of meaning. And we ourselves need badly what was once known as moderation, in the use of the word moderation.

Fashions being what they are, it was not at all surprising that the Declaration of Constitutional Principles attacking the Supreme Court's school segregation decision, which was issued on March 11 by nearly the full membership of the Southern Congressional delegation — 77 Representatives and 19 Senators — 96 in all — should have been immediately labeled as moderate. In a sense, the term is, of course, applicable. The Manifesto was not the action of a mob on the campus of the University of Alabama. It has not the sound of the usual public utterances of one of its signers, Mr. James Eastland of Mississippi. It bears the names—to mention but a few —of relatively forward-looking men such as Sens. John Sparkman and Lister Hill of Alabama and J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas and Reps. Hale Boggs of Louisiana, Jere Cooper of Tennessee and Wright Patman of Texas, and of equally respected conservatives such as Sens. Walter George and Richard Russell of Georgia and John Stennis of Mississippi. The Declaration enters, on the part of the South, a universe of discourse different from that in which the South's men of violence and demagoguery dwell, and into which they have been trying to draw us. Communism, for example, escapes any mention.

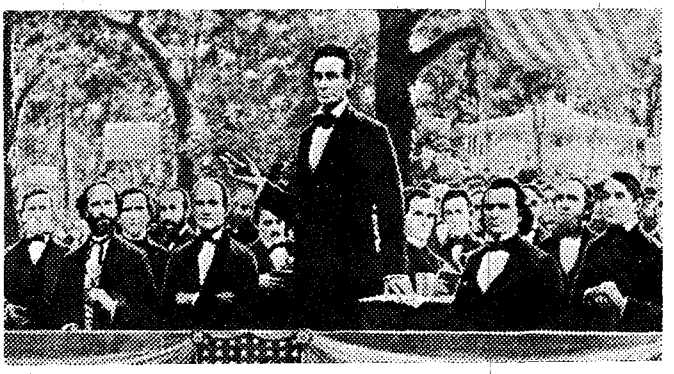
This much should be said, and credit given for it, although it is really no more than one was entitled to expect. And this pallid quality of the Southern statement is conveyed by the adjective moderate. But for the rest, the Declaration, as the saying goes, invites analysis. Upon analysis, it becomes apparent that it is not so much a moderate as it is a negotiated document, and that in the negotiations, the "moderate" victory was limited, on the whole, to shadow, while the fire-eaters won on substance. Disorder and lawless acts are condemned, to be sure. But there are other passages which, if not incendiary, are certainly combustible. The Supreme Court's decision, we are told, had "no legal basis." It amounted to a substitution of "personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land." It was usurpation of power; an exercise of "naked judicial power," which, whatever it may mean, is presumably distinguishable from judicial power dressed to the teeth and consequently tolerable. The signers reaffirm their "reliance on the Constitution as the fundamental law of the land"—a statement which in context is pregnant with the suggestion, tenable only academically or by force but not in law, that there exists a Constitution distinct from the one the Supreme Court expounds. Finally, resistance "by any lawful means" is warmly commended.

THE compromise of which the Declaration is a product seems plain. The harsh, realistic, spade-calling views held by a man such as Mr. Eastland were deemed unseemly by others among the signers, who wish the segregation decision weren't so, but who don't know what can be decently done about the fact that it is very much so. But a recognition that, disagreeable as it may be, the segregation decision is the binding verdict of a tribunal empowered beyond the shadow of a doubt to render it, that it represents, like taxes and other sectionally or generally unpleasant burdens, the price of deference to the national will which the South must pay for being neither a province nor an insignificant principality but an integral part of the greatest and richest civilized power on earth—that recognition could not be wrung from the more radical element, and probably comes very hard indeed for most if not all Southern office-holders. And so recourse was had to disingenuous euphemisms like the phrase "lawful means."

The Supreme Court itself provided the lawful means for delayed and gradual implementation of its decision, in wise deference to the age and tenacity of the custom which it must eventually displace. But there are no lawful means to resist the decision altogether. Lawful dis-

ALEXANDER M. BICKEL, *a Research Associate in Law at Harvard Law School and former Secretary to Justice Frankfurter, is engaged in a study of Justice Brandeis.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Abraham Lincoln debating Stephen A. Douglas

obedience of the law is nonsense. So is whatever may be meant by interposition, of which the signers of the Declaration imply approval. It is one thing to propose, according to law, a Constitutional amendment annulling the decision, or to try before the Court which made it to obtain its reversal. Chances of success in this direction are slim, as the Southern Congressmen surely know. Resistance, the other course they suggest, is quite a different thing, and is not compatible with lawful conduct.

When, in 1857, in the *Dred Scott* case, a majority of the Supreme Court went out of its way to sustain the nationwide legal status of slavery and to interfere with the compromises which had been the work of the pre-Civil War generation, the North was profoundly shocked. It was faced with the prospect of the spread of the detested institution into new territories, and much vehement language was directed at the Court. Defending the decision in debate with Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois said: "Whoever resists the final decision of the highest judicial tribunal aims a deadly blow at our whole republican system of government." It would behoove Southern statesmen to think hard about Lincoln's reply, which was straight-forward and law-abiding. Lincoln said: "We know the court that made it, [*sic*] has often over-ruled its own decisions, and we shall do what we can to have it to [*sic*] overrule this. We offer no *resistance* to it." This is an understandable and easily stated position. There is no echo of it in the Southern Declaration of Constitutional Principles of a century later.

The negotiated ambivalence and the euphemisms of the Southern Declaration of 1956 are supported by a legal argument so naïve that it is difficult to charge the able and experienced lawyers among the signers with genuine confidence in it. There are, in the Declaration, the bare bones of a different sort of discussion, dealing with the wisdom of the Supreme Court's decision in terms of the federal balance which is the genius of our system of government. But the chief reliance is on the contention that the Court lacked power to act at all. As a matter of historical fact, the argument runs, it was not the intention of the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment, pursuant to which the Court's segregation decision was made, to affect in any way the practice of segregated education. The Court itself sanctioned the practice in the past. Therefore segregation is "the established law of the land," and the Supreme Court was without authority to change it. Only a constitutional amendment could have legally done that.

This line of reasoning rests on a silent premise of thoroughly inadmissible implications, to which we shall come in a moment. But it is important to note first that the Declaration's assertion of historical fact will not quite hold water. Precisely the opposite and equally blunt assertion, namely that the framers intended to abolish segregation in educational institutions, has been made, and supported by some show of scholarship. The truth lies in between. It appears reasonably clear that an explicit provision abolishing segregation would not have mustered the necessary two-thirds majority in the Reconstruction Congress which proposed the Fourteenth Amendment for ratification by the states. Nor would it have been possible in that Congress to carry many another explicit provision achieving results which have since been held to be ordained by the Fourteenth Amendment. But, not unlike the members of the original Philadelphia Convention, the men who framed the Fourteenth Amendment were aware that they were writing an organic law intended for permanence, and they deliberately chose broad language capable of growth and application to matters and in circumstances not foreseeable in 1866. Rejecting an elaborately explicit provision, they chose phrases which had scope and a ring to echo in the national memory of libertarian beginnings. They gave us, as has been said, a mood, a freshened reminder of ancient ideas of justice, and a mandate to go forth and apply these ideas of justice in light of our own experience.

THE premise from which the argument of the Southerners' Declaration proceeds is that the specific intent of the framers of a constitutional provision, being ascertainable, is forever and specifically binding, subject only to the cumbersome process of amendment. There are no doubt some relatively technical provisions of the Constitution with respect to which this notion holds true. Nothing but disaster, however, could result for government under a written Constitution if this notion were generally accepted with respect to such broad precepts as that of "due process of law" or "equal protection of the laws."

The statesmen and judges, including the framers of the Constitution, who have shaped our national existence knew and taught us that the only abiding thing is change. It is all around us, in the private affairs which the law influences only remotely, in legislation, state and federal, and in the life of the Constitution. Change, to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be sure, must be a process of growth. The coloration of the new must not clash with that of the old. Change must not come about in violent spasms. Government under law is a continuum, not a series of jerky fresh departures. Because we must have continuity as well as change, the past is relevant, and the Court itself in the segregation cases directed the attention of counsel to historical evidence, if any, of the intent of the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment. The matter was extensively canvassed in the briefs and arguments presented to the Court, and the evidence seemed to the Justices inconclusive at best. But, whatever they might show, these materials could not be, such materials have in the development of our constitutional law seldom if ever been, decisive. The Court's action had to be based on the moral and material State of the Union in 1954, not 1866.

As Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes had the occasion to say in a celebrated case decided better than 20 years ago:

> If by the statement that what the Constitution meant at the time of its adoption it means today, it is intended to say that the great clauses of the Constitution must be confined to the interpretation which the framers, with the conditions and outlook of their time, would have placed upon them, the statement carries its own refutation.

Complaint is made that the change which is now decreed is sudden and revolutionary. But the Congressmen who signed this Declaration must know better. As has so often been true in the Court's work, a lengthy process of erosion of the old preceded and heralded announcement of the new constitutional doctrine. The Fourteenth Amendment had for some decades been gradually extended to protect more and more Negro rights.

In education itself, the Supreme Court had held that separate but equal physical facilities for graduate studies would not do. The public-school-segregation decision was the culmination of a perfectly normal constitutional development, not a bolt out of the blue. The extraordinary thing about it, which the Southern Congressmen do not deign to mention, was the majestic deliberateness which the Court brought to its task, the unanimity with which it at last reached its decision, and the unprecedented allowance it made for the practical and emotional adjustments the new doctrine will entail.

IN TONES of outrage which would be comic if the surrounding circumstances were less serious, the signers of the Southern Declaration protest that the Constitution "does not mention education." Therefore the federal government may not concern itself with any aspect of it.

Of course the Constitution does not mention education.

IF BY THE statement that what the Constitution meant at the time of its adoption it means today, it is intended to say that the great clauses of the Constitution must be confined to the interpretation which the framers, with the conditions and outlook of their time, would have placed upon them, the statement carries its own refutation. CHARLES E. HUGHES

Nor does it mention an Air Force, but the President's title to the command-in-chief in the air as well as on land is not consequently the less. Nor does the Constitution mention minimum wages; nor collective bargaining; nor traffic in narcotics; nor parity in the market place at 80, 90 or 100 percent; nor a thousand other subjects with which the national government has dealt as we have grown to nationhood and power and moral maturity. What would Senators Hill and Sparkman think of an employer who pledged to resist the Wages and Hours Act, or the Federal Employers' Liability Act or the Pure Food and Drug Act "by any lawful means?"

IT SEEMS fitting to end by quoting for the benefit of the Southern Congressmen a definitive statement on the life of our Constitution made by James Bradley Thayer, a great constitutional lawyer, at the turn of the century, when the issue which agitated the country concerned the proper relationship between the federal government and the insular possessions obtained as a result of the Spanish-American War. Thayer wrote:

> And so it happens, as one looks back over our history and the field of political discussions in the past, that he seems to see the whole region strewn with the wrecks of the Constitution—of what people have been imagining and putting forward as the Constitution. That it was unconstitutional to buy Louisiana and Florida; that it was unconstitutional to add new states to the Union from territory not belonging originally to it; that it was unconstitutional to govern the territories at all; that it was unconstitutional to charter a bank, to issue paper money, to make it legal tender, to enact a protective tariff—that these and a hundred other things were a violation of the Constitution, has been solemnly and passionately asserted by statesmen and lawyers. . . . The trouble has been, then as now, that men imputed to our fundamental law their own too narrow construction of it, their own theory of its purposes and spirits. . . . That instrument, astonishingly well adapted for the purposes of a great, developing nation, shows its wisdom mainly in the shortness and generality of its provisions, in its silence, and its abstinence from petty limitations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

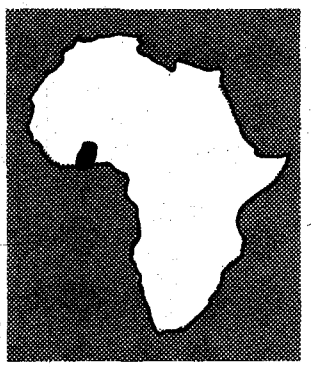
THE GOLD COAST

Growing Up To Be a Nation

by ALEXANDER KENDRICK

THE SIGN in the lounge said: "Hotel de Kingsway, Kumasi. An International and Non-Political Hotel. Political Discussions Not Allowed."

Actually, at the Hotel de Kingsway, conversation is not missed. A jazz band plays loud "High-Life" music until 4 A. M., after which, in the street outside, an occasional bomb explodes. The sound of breaking glass is common, and shouts in the night are frequent. For Kumasi is the capital of Ashanti Land — a territory in the center of the Gold Coast. Kumasi is also headquarters of the 18-months-old National Liberation Movement, which is carrying on a violent campaign against the government of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah. In Kumasi, cabinet ministers do not dare appear for fear of assassination; it has passed the point of political discussions and is in a more or less permanent state of emergency.



The Gold Coast which stretches for 334 miles along the Gulf of Guinea is shown in the darkened area above.

This is not yet true in the rest of the Gold Coast Colony. The entire five million population of the Gold Coast, politically the most advanced country in all Africa, seems to be engaged in a running and interminable political debate, becoming more acute as the colony approaches the date of its independence, and its transformation into a sovereign Dominion in the British Commonwealth.

Since independence, under Britain's flexible schedule, must follow "a measure of general agreement," there are some citizens of the Gold Coast who regard it as more than coincidence that as Independence Day gets closer, dangerous political complications have set in which threaten its postponement, perhaps for a long time to come. But whatever suspicions some government members may have that British hands are stirring up the trouble in Ashanti Land, it is fairly evident that not very much stirring up was needed, and that this is well supplied locally.

A description of a typical National Liberation Movement rally is perhaps the best way of describing what can only be regarded as a disturbing development. It took place in the southern part of the Ashanti territory. It was to have been attended by the Asantahene himself, or chief of all the Ashantis and holder of the Golden Stool, Sir Osei Agyemong Prempeh II, but he sent a telegram of regrets. So did the scheduled principal speaker, Bafour Osei Akoto, head of the NLM, who for many years was the linguist and thus officially the principal adviser of the Asantahene.

Both men reported that they were attending another NLM meeting in the Northern Territory, which is to a large extent Moslem. Several of the Asantahene's 15 paramount chiefs were present, however, along with at least 40 or 50 village chiefs. Each one made his appearance under a large umbrella, and following an ordinary chair, carried high before him. If the Asantahene had deigned to come, the chair would have been the Golden Stool, the symbol of supreme tribal authority, and he would have been accompanied by a retinue of several hundred persons.

The lesser chiefs came with 20 to 50 retainers each. They were met by a cheering claque of young men and boys as they arrived, accompanied to their seats by the banging of drums, and the claque then returned to bring in the next arrival. The chiefs obviously enjoyed immensely the fervent ceremonies, the cheers they got from the crowd, and the thump of the "talking drums." It is in order to preserve this and other aspects of the tribal way of life, and to maintain and even increase their authority and prestige, that the Ashanti chiefs are in revolt against Prime Minister Nkrumah, the apostle of Western democracy and, some say, even socialism.

THE meeting was opened by a speaker in a red fez. He had a large wristwatch, which he kept looking at, and his job was to keep talking until all the chiefs had arrived. Since he was patently a Moslem, it was not surprising to hear him shout "Islam!" several times and be answered by the crowd. When the next speaker, however, a young man in horned-rim glasses and Western clothes,

---

ALEXANDER KENDRICK, *London correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System, has recently returned from a five-months assignment in Africa.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also began by loudly invoking Islam, the meeting took on another aspect, since he was obviously not a Moslem, and neither was the majority of the audience.

The main speaker was R. R. Amponsah, 31-year-old general secretary of the National Liberation Movement, who had previously been an ardent supporter of the Prime Minister and a member of his Convention People's Party. Amponsah spoke in excellent English, for the benefit of our television cameras. He had spent several years in London as student exchange officer of the Gold Coast Government, and was a well-known figure in Hyde Park, demanding independence for his country.

Now he vigorously made the case against the present government of the Gold Coast—that there should be no independence unless it includes a federal form of government giving Ashanti Land autonomy, and dividing the Gold Coast (which is smaller than Utah) into four separate regions. Amponsah began by shouting slogans. "Yateyeho!" he declared three times, and was answered "Yateyeho!" by the crowd. It means "We have separated!" Then he shouted "Islam!' three times and received the crowd's echo, and finally he shouted "Awake! Awake! Awake!" and the crowd replied with the same words.

I LATER asked why there should be so much Moslem emphasis, especially in an area where, unlike the Northern Territory, followers of the Prophet are few. He said frankly it was to keep the Moslems "Happy" and in opposition to the government. The Opposition had won 33 out of 104 seats in the 1954 general election, although it is only fair to say that the National Liberation Movement as such has come into being only since then. It believes another test at the polls would bring it a hair's breadth majority, and thus enable it, rather than Dr. Nkrumah, to bring the Gold Coast to Dominion status.

While Amponsah spoke, a dozen powerfully-built young men strolled about among the crowd. They were dressed in the movie version of American cowboy costumes, black satin with white fringes, and they wore high-heeled black Texas boots brilliantly studded with the letters NLM and the words "King Force." They were called to the platform later in the program, introduced as "Action Troops," and sang a song. I was told that their throwing arms were not impeded by their tight clothing, and that most of the bomb damage in Kumasi, rightly or wrongly, was attributed to them.

A chorus of Ashanti girls, all dressed in light blue evening gowns, also sang, each girl standing with two upraised fingers. This, the sign of federation, is the official NLM salute and is used for all party greetings, whereas one upraised finger, denoting "The Light," is used only when the cry of "Islam Awake!" is uttered.

General Secretary Amponsah took about 40 minutes to state his position. He charged Nkrumah with nepotism, the spoils system, and would-be dictatorship. He declared that the Ashanti chiefs, whose income derives from ownership of the Gold Coast's principal cocoa plantations, had been economically penalized by the government's price-fixing policy. This has maintained an $11 level (for 60 pounds of cocoa beans) for several years, while in French Togoland next door the price has gone as high as $28 (and as low as $6). Amponsah also blamed Nkrumah for the high cost of living and said the Prime Minister was really plotting to establish a republic. In Hyde Park Amponsah used to advocate Pan-Africanism composed of a whole continent of republics.

Since a good many of the NLM leaders are, like Amponsah, former staunch supporters of the Prime Minister, who went into the Opposition when they fell out of favor, it is perhaps inevitable that their attacks on him are of a highly personal nature. Another former close friend, Joe Appiah, son-in-law of the late Sir Stafford Cripps and former personal representative of Dr. Nkrumah in London, reportedly broke with him because he failed to receive the post of Gold Coast Commissioner, and now speaks in similar tones of the Prime Minister. But the personal invective used by NLM leaders against Nkrumah merely magnifies their lack of a specific program.

For even federation has not been thought through. To reduce it to absurd terms, Ashanti Land, which is seeking autonomy in a Gold Coast Federation, includes a tribe called the Brongs. They oppose Ashanti rule and say they will not live as anything but Brongs. If Ashanti Land wins federation, will the Brongs also then get autonomy in an autonomous Ashanti Province? Similarly, a tribe called the Wamfie has lately asked for recognition as a separate state from the Dormaa tribe, on the ground that "recent history has made it hard to co-operate with the Dormaa people, especially in the reign of the present Dormaahene."

The extreme of absurdity is the situation in British

Villagers of Oyibi, Gold Coast, listen to an explanation of how to register in order to vote in the next election.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Togoland, a United Nations trust territory administered by the Gold Coast, and expected after a plebiscite to become part of the Gold Coast. That is, three of its four provinces are expected to do so. The fourth province, called Ho, may well vote for continued trusteeship. This is complicated enough, since it may wind up with Ho having to become an independent state, but a sub-district within Ho has already announced that it will secede from Ho and join the Gold Coast, if this should prove to be the case.

All these divisive tendencies, of course, are based on the fact that white men's boundaries and political categories mean little to the tribes, and white men's law has not done much to alter relations between tribes. The Ashanti chiefs, who accepted British rule after the bloody Ashanti wars, do not so easily take to the idea of rule by, or even co-equality with other tribes. Since their tribal sense is so well developed, they tend to regard the government of the Gold Coast as less a civil administration founded on a parliamentary democracy, than a coalition of *other* tribesmen put over them.

Thus, in a sense, the defenders of tribal sovereignty are more representative of the natural state of things in West Africa than Dr. Nkrumah. But there is no gain-saying the fact that a reversion to tribal authority, as a political force in a modern state, would undo almost everything that the British have accomplished in their most advanced colony, and turn the Gold Coast into an anachronistic dichotomy.

Prime Minister Nkrumah

Dr. Nkrumah is opposed to Gold Coast federation, although he strongly favors a West African Federation, embracing his own country, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Gambia and the other, or French half of Togoland. He explains that West African Federation would mean the unification and strengthening of several already existing entities. He is also said to favor a West African Federation because he would be a leading candidate for its Premiership.

But as in the case of autonomy, how far can federation go? Nigeria, one of the proposed components of a West African Federation, is itself already a federation, with four Prime Ministers. Would it continue as a federation within a federation?

The 47-year-old Nkrumah, first African Prime Minister in history (he has since been followed by Izmael el-Azhari of the Sudan) makes no concessions to his political opponents. When they charge him with dictatorial tendencies, he shouts at them from the speaker's platform: "I am the one who decides if there shall be an election." When they charge him with giving jobs to friends and henchmen, he replies: "I am the one who gives jobs." The King Force of the NLM is matched by Nkrumah's own Action Troops, who wear red-and-white overseas caps and are every bit as musclebound as the cowboys. Nkrumah has his "dispatch riders," a private bodyguard on motorcycles, dressed like Los Angeles policemen. He lifts a clenched fist and shouts "Freedom!" to his followers, who attend meetings in compulsory "party dress," that is to say, frocks and skirts with his picture on them. But his audiences are urban ones. By contrast with the Ashanti chiefs and their tribal retainers, Convention Peoples' Party meetings are attended by office workers, artisans, shop-keepers, and the market women of Accra, who are not only the backbone of the country's commerce but also of Dr. Nkrumah's party.

Despite his public refusals to yield any ground, Nkrumah has taken the step of calling an all-party round-table conference to discuss the report of Sir Frederick Bourne, former Governor of East Bengal, who as an impartial arbiter last year made proposals that are rightly regarded as a turning point in the Gold Coast's constitutional turmoil. Sir Frederick rejected the Ashanti demands for a federal statute, but recommended decentralization of the government through regional assemblies, and "a very substantial transfer of power from the center to the regions." Moreover, the Bourne report states that no measure affecting the privileges of the chiefs would go before the Legislative Assembly without prior consultation with them.

NKRUMAH accepted the Bourne report as a basis for discussion and thus modified his party's earlier adamant and indeed revolutionary stand that the whole Chiefly order be liquidated. But the Opposition, which had refused to meet Sir Frederick at all, likewise refused to discuss his report. The round-table conference was therefore held without the participation of Ashanti and Northern Territory representatives. It sat for a month and rose March 16 with a series of recommendations for a new constitution based on the Bourne report. The government now intends to offer these to the Opposition in a White Paper. The Nkrumah Cabinet, however, has not accepted Opposition demands for an election before independence, and at the present gives no indication of doing so.

Independence Day plans, including the opening of the first and only modern hotel in Accra, the Gold Coast's capital, continue to be made by the Nkrumah Government, as if there were no uncertainty in the country at all. But there is. As one cabinet minister put it recently, wryly quoting what he said was an African proverb, "When two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & COMMENT

Burke vs. the New Conservatives

by Morton J. Frisch

MUCH of the standard criticism being directed at the "new conservatives" by the liberals, and by the more moderate of the conservatives themselves, misses the point. The point is that by stating a fully-fashioned philosophy, by translating a mood or a habit into a philosophy, the new conservatism confuses the essential distinction between political theory and practice. Liberals are largely unaware of this confusion for they have committed similar ideological" errors in the past.

Edmund Burke, often referred to as the father of modern conservatism," never pretended that the sentiment ontained in his speeches and writings rnished principles for the governance society as such; they were "reflecons" largely provoked by the historical rcumstances of the French Revolution. ractically none of his writings was heoretical. He did not pretend to be qualified for the chair of professor of netaphysics" and he never ventured to ut his nation's "solid interests on speculative grounds."

Burke was never hesitant to emphasize that theory has no direct application o the realm of practice and that practice tself dictates its own remedies. "The ules and definitions of prudence can arely be exact, never universal." "Nothng universal can be rationally affirmed in any moral and political subject. Pure netaphysical abstraction does not belong [political] matters." In proportion as heories are "metaphysically true, they re morally and politically false." Burke would have defeated the very purpose of is condemnation of the French Revolution as "doctrinaire" and "abstract" if e had attempted to fashion *his* conervative criticism or mood into a philosphy of politics.

Since the events of political life are argely to be understood in terms of a umber of possible combinations of circumstances, political decisions must ultimately rest upon the trained insight of the man of practical wisdom, insight which is able to furnish fresh judgments in constantly changing situations. The attempt to substitute theory for practice, rather than to maintain their separate and distinct roles, ends up by "losing the significance of both, of action no less than thought, of politics no less than philosophy."

NATIONS might conceivably be placed in circumstances which require liberal reforms as well as in those which require a more traditionalist or conservative approach. Lord Macauley suggested that the "best specimens" of statesmanship would be found somewhere near the "common frontier" between the conservative and liberal approaches, innovating when the times demand reform and conserving when the opposite is required. Reinhold Niebuhr, in similar vein, said that "the peculiar conditions of each nation and of each period within a nation must and will determine the degree of emphasis on one side or the other of the equation." Burke, whose *Reflections on the Revolution in France* might be regarded as the supreme act of 18th Century conservatism, was not reluctant to defend the position of the American colonies in their dispute with the mother country nor was he hesitant to introduce reforms into the British postal system. The only kind of conservatism, or liberalism for that matter, which was legitimate for Burke was that which emerged from, and was required by, the *actual historical situation.*

But our new conservatives, by displaying what is essentially a mood as a philosophy of politics, deny to statesmanship that flexibility and freedom of movement which is essential for the prudent direction of public affairs. Should the statesman disregard unpleasant realities in order to remain consistent with the conservative pattern, or should he, in view of his wisdom and responsibility, undertake to meet such problems as slum housing, overcrowded schooling and deteriorating natural resources with a willingness to experiment and a policy of bold and forthright action? If consistency in politics, as Winston Churchill suggests, is not a political virtue, then why should a statesman be unalterably wedded to the conservative approach?

Russell Kirk, one of the prophets of the new conservatism, is appalled by the deeper and deeper intrusion of professional training in American institutions of higher learning, by the substitution of a pragmatic (or "Deweyite") kind of learning for the centuries-old tradition of exact, precise and thorough scholarship. The place of the traditional college and university curriculum, Kirk would suggest, is being largely taken over by the professional or trade-school approach, an approach which amounts to nothing more than a glorified "training-on-the-job" program.

That Kirk correctly assesses the respective roles of theory and practice within an educational framework, we have no reason to deny. But when he makes the shift from education to politics, he commits exactly the same kind of error which he has in effect criticized the "Deweyites" for making. That is, just as the contemporary educators have sought to convert successful professional techniques into theories for classroom consumption, Kirk has sought to convert the art of conservative statesmanship into a theory for political consumption and use. Practical techniques in both cases are being converted into theories which are then intended to be re-introduced into, or re-imposed upon, the experience from which they came.

THE mirror which the new conservatives hold up to political life is one which focuses certain aspects of that life sharply, but which reflects nothing in depth or perspective. Conservatism is, in a very real sense, nothing more than a cautious accommodation to political circumstances and a distrust of radical change. The meanings of conservatism and liberalism in our time have become twisted almost entirely out of shape by their having assumed an ideological flavor, but this is not to say that they have always been devoid of political sensibility.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sex in the Suburbs

by Donald Malcolm

IN 1895, G. B. Shaw made his review of a very bad play titled *King Arthur* the occasion for some pointed remarks on English morality and the Marriage

Lucy Crown, by Irwin Shaw (Random House; $3.95).

Question, among them these:

> When King Arthur . . . left Guinevere grovelling on the floor with her head within an inch of his toes, and stood plainly conveying to the numerous bystanders that this was the proper position for a female who had forgotten herself so far as to prefer another man to him, one's gorge rose at the Tappertitian vulgarity and infamy of the thing. . . . That vision of a fine figure of a woman, torn with sobs and remorse, stretched at the feet of a nobly superior and deeply wronged lord of creation, is no doubt still as popular with the men whose sentimental vanity it flatters as it was in the days of the Idylls of the King.

The popular view of adultery has come a long way in the subsequent grand march of progress. It wasn't very long before a select handful of people began rebelling, with the courage of Mr. Shaw's convictions, against the rigid marital conventions of the Victorians. As time went on however, the simple enjoyment of sex and social rebellion became compounded with the more intricate 20th Century pleasure of feeling oneself utterly lost, damned, and disenchanted. A properly managed affair became the badge of an elite of fallen angels, in which capacity it had the advantage of conferring a certain amount of distinction upon the participants without requiring much of them in the way of accomplishment. This phase of the movement was for a time the more or less exclusive property of the upper classes and the intelligentsia.

It is dangerous, however, to base social distinctions upon attainments so easily grasped. In next to no time, the lower orders shrewdly perceived that the practice of adultery was by no means limited to this elite; that indeed, for those without a great deal of money or intelligence, it constituted an ideal means to eminence. The democratization of adultery inevitably followed on the heels of this great discovery until at last, in the American branch of the movement at least, the pursuit of extracurricular sex became at least as essential to a successful marriage as the supermarket, and rather more so than babies.

Or so, at any rate, the process appears in the fiction of the last half century.

However, in recent years there has been a tentative but increasing suspicion that adultery, like marriage, is not without its own dismal consequences. And now there comes another Shaw, this one named Irwin, who insists that these consequences can be downright catastrophic.

LUCY CROWN, the Guinevere of this production, does not prefer the Lancelot in question to her King Arthur. Lancelot, a Dartmouth student on summer vacation, is appealing enough in his bumbling attempts to make love to her, but he is hardly the sort of knight errant to sweep a thirty-five year-old matron with a thirteen-year-old son into a giddy vortex of passion. King Arthur, on the other hand—or Oliver Crown, to give him his proper name—is a strong and benevolent family monarch with whom she is completely in love. Nevertheless she is somewhat resentful of his strength and her dependence and so, while vacationing with her son, she decides to succumb to the importunities of the Dartmouth Lancelot, this being the first really important decision she has ever made all by herself.

Unfortunately for this summer idyll, it is observed at one of its most idyllic moments by the thirteen year-old son, who is just then dimly becoming aware of the facts of life (at thirteen!) and who immediately sends word to his father. Panic-stricken, Lucy denies her son's story with a particularly ugly lie which, once the truth becomes known, makes a breakup of the family inevitable. This rupture takes a peculiar form. King Arthur, discovering that he cannot live without Guinevere, who after the first panicky moment obstinately refuses to prostrate herself, agrees to send their son away to school—permanently—as the price of her return.

This turns out to be a mistake of considerable dimensions. The son, upon whom he had lavished great hopes, qui naturally takes the whole thing in ba part and becomes a cynical, bitter, di trustful young man; Lucy, far from r newing her suburban chastity, extend her activities in all directions; an Oliver himself, having temporized wit his moral convictions and patriarcha duties, undergoes a slow disintegratio of character and seizes upon the occasio of the Second World War as a con venient pretext for rushing overseas an getting himself killed.

There are doubtless those who wi feel that the massive retaliation Mr. Shaw hurls at his characters for thei one summer of moral mistakes borde on the excessive. The transformation o Lucy Crown from a sedate and cheerfu matron to an unhappy nymphomania the transformation of her husband fro a self-reliant, -respecting, and -containe gentleman to the drunken, leering con ventioneer he appears on the eve of hi departure to the wars; these seem retri butions out of all proportion to th events that give them rise. And, even a mitting that some such aftermath migh be appropriate to the cataclysm, o could wish that Mr. Shaw had concern himself more with the vital mechanis of change.

PART of the responsibility for this weakness may be due to the wa flashbacks are used to tell the story There is often a considerable lapse o time between episodes, giving, on occasion, the impression that Lucy and Oliver do most of their disintegrating during the intermissions, while they are still offstage. But the greater share of the responsibility must be laid to the violent metamorphosis Mr. Shaw has forced upon the pair. It seems psychologically improbable that a gentleman of Oliver Crown's sort would become an expo nent of the smirking, rib-nudging locker-room school of camaraderie, eve with his moral universe lying in ruins at his feet. Nor can one accept Lucy's brisk conversion from housewife to trull without a certain strain on credulity. Such revolutions of character may indeed be possible, but Mr. Shaw's case for them is far from convincing—with the unfortunate result that he appears to be wilfully converting silk purses into sow's ears, merely for the pleasure of reversing the process in the final pages of the book.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How Much is Changing in the USSR?

by J. F. Matlock Jr.

BERTRAM WOLFE'S latest book, *Six Keys to the Soviet System*, has appeared at an opportune time. The news of Khrushchev's "out with Stalin" speech and its spectacular repercussions throughout the Communist world must have set many intelligent citizens to murmuring once again about the Russian enigma. Mr. Wolfe's volume does not predict or explain this latest shift in the Kremlin's tactics, but it does deal with the fundamental principles and the habitual practices of the Soviet regime, with or without Stalin's leadership.

Six Keys to the Soviet System, by Bertram D. Wolfe (Beacon; $3.75).

Mr. Wolfe argues energetically that the "new" Soviet leadership is new in nothing but the imagination of wishful thinkers. The present leaders, disciples of Stalin who owe their eminence to their adeptness and diligence in applying Stalin's methods, have no intention of abandoning the totalitarian principles which made them what they are. They, in fact, are doing nothing more than following the tactics outlined in Stalin's testament, his *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*. This article presaged the return to a "soft" foreign policy, a revival of the popular front and the use of economic and political means to split the Western Allies.

This argument that *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose* underlies the entire book. Most of the chapters deal with the Stalin period and are made up of articles and book reviews published previously in a variety of magazines. The author presents these essentially as they first appeared, with only occasional annotations. He does this both because he feels that most of his observations on the Soviet system are as valid today as they were five or ten years ago and because he wants the reader to judge for himself how well these keys have worked since they were first fashioned.

Mr. Wolfe's interpretation, with the many facts adduced to support it, is a healthy corrective to the fanciful speculation which has been all too common in appraisals of the present Soviet regime. In our preoccupation with the dramatic repudiation of the Stalin image, we may overlook the fact that the recent Party Congress ended with the usual "unanimous" elections and that the present "collective" exercises the same type of totalitarian control established by their late master.

But the picture we get from *Six Keys to the Soviet System* can be misleading. There are two equally fallacious views of present-day Soviet Russia—that everything has changed and that nothing has changed. Though Mr. Wolfe may not intend it, the reader of his book is likely to reach the latter conclusion. This reviewer would agree that there have been no fundamental alterations of the Soviet system. Changes in the application of totalitarian controls, on the other hand, have been substantial and of great importance. There is no question that the average Soviet citizen feels freer than before, that some of the fetters binding literature and the arts have been loosened, and that the authority of the secret police has been seriously undermined. It is equally obvious that Soviet foreign policy is now exhibiting an unprecedented flexibility, even if the tactics have been used before. Although these matters are of manifest importance, Mr. Wolfe tells us little.

One must also take care not to assume that the chapters on culture, science, education and labor give a complete picture of these aspects of Soviet life. Mr. Wolfe offers us examples of the effect of totalitarian political control over each of these fields, not a balanced summary of conditions in the entire field. The article "Science Joins the Party," for example, describes the rise of Trofim Lysenko, the disgrace and arrest of leading geneticists who opposed him, and the subsequent utter degradation of Soviet genetics as a science. Though no field of learning is immune from political supervision in the Soviet state, it would be a serious mistake to assume that the situation in genetics is typical of all Soviet science, nor even that in genetics the situation is static, since Lysenko himself is now in disgrace in the USSR, a development which Mr. Wolfe could hardly have foreseen. Most of the scientific disciplines, as a matter of fact, are relatively free from political control of technical matters, and this very fact offers a strong incentive for the most intelligent young people to enter science as a profession.

Mr. Wolfe, however, did not set out to write a handbook to the Soviet Union, but only to supply some keys. He himself admits that his six are not all that are needed. The most important key—Soviet totalitarianism—is here. For its perceptive presentation of this aspect of the Soviet system, *Six Keys to the Soviet System* can be strongly recommended to anyone who still feels that Soviet actions are enigmatic, and even more to those who would like to think that Stalinism died with Stalin.

Interested in the Non-Violent Approach to Social Revolution?

Study the philosophy and techniques of MAHATMA GANDHI—a man who made it live and work!

NAVAJIVAN PUBLICATIONS:

THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH—Gandhi's autobiography		2.50
Abridged AUTOBIOGRAPHY		.75
SATYAGRAHA (Non-violent resistence), Gandhi		2.00
NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE AND WAR, Gandhi	Vol. I	2.50
	Vol. II	2.00
FOR PACIFISTS, Gandhi		.50
A DISCIPLINE FOR NON-VIOLENCE, Richard Gregg		.25
THE POLITICAL PHILOSOHPY OF MAHATMA GANDHI, Dhawah		2.25
PRACTICAL NON-VIOLENCE, Mashruwala		.30

Send check or money order. Literature sent postpaid and returnable if unsatisfactory.

Complete list sent upon request.

NATIONAL PEACE LITERATURE SERVICE

American Friends Service Committee, P. O. Box 247, Cambridge 38, Mass.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FILMS

Guys, Dolls and Vivian Leigh

ANYONE who enjoys musical comedies and musical films will probably enjoy *Guys and Dolls* but this opinion is hardly more than a guess, since I thought it was a piercing bore. I must immediately add that I have felt the same way about every musical comedy and film since 1928 when I saw the wonderful Rodgers and Hart *Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court.* And when, many years after, a friend remarked that Shakespeare himself really wrote musical comedies, I was sufficiently impressed to try to correct my narrowness of taste. The effort ended when I saw *Kiss Me Kate* and compared it to *The Taming of the Shrew,* one of Shakespeare's turkeys, for it was impossible to think that Shakespeare wrote the same kind of musical comedies as are now available.

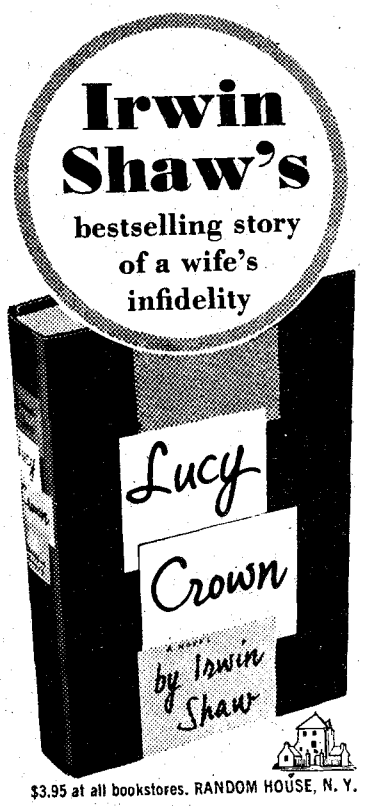
Guys and Dolls is full of snappy moments, and clever episodes, interrupted fairly continually by singing and dancing and it is the interruptions which really spoil one's chance of getting interested in Marlon Brando's pursuit of Jean Simmons. He is a gambler and she is a Salvation-Army-type lass and the courtship is quite interesting while the camera concentrates upon it, which it does sporadically. The one positive thing to report to those who may suffer from the same anesthesia as I do is merely a theory: the possibility that this kind of film might be quite pleasant if one went to it after getting sufficiently loaded at a cocktail party. Then the problem of what to do after a cocktail party would be resolved for the first time: for the actors on the screen can be regarded as the life of another party while one relaxes in the soothing darkness.

THE new Italian film directed by Vittorio De Sica, *Too Bad She's Bad,* is a real disappointment, coming as it does from the same man who directed *Bicycle Thief.* De Sica himself appears in the film as the father of Sophia Loren. The film is supposed to be about the penchant of father and daughter for picking pockets and other forms of theft. But its real subject matter is Miss Loren's remarkable personality, her combination of a great body and a great mind. As her father remarks at one point, it is impossible to doubt that she has an extraordinary gift for logic as well as for making the most of the most interesting regions of her body. When in the course of one or another theft, she finds herself accused of dishonesty, she defends herself with so much vehemence, ingenuity and conviction that everyone else feels guilty very soon of unjust suspicion. But the plot is too trivial and the thefts too petty to make much of Miss Loren as a shyster Venus.

Miss Loren certainly has a comic gift, but it is impossible to imagine what she would do with the serious role played perfectly by Vivian Leigh in *The Deep Dark Sea.* This is by no means a first-rate film, but it exists on an adult level such as one would hardly suspect to be part of reality if one had to judge solely by the representation of reality in *Guys and Dolls* and *Too Bad She's Bad.* Miss Leigh as the heroine has fallen in love with a young RAF stunt pilot and left her kind middle-aged husband to live with him. Kenneth More as the pilot and lover gives a first rate performance equal to Miss Leigh's in the difficult role of a young man who, intending only to have a casual affair with another man's pretty wife, finds himself far beyond his depth, in the clutches of a desperate infatuation. He has tried to respond to it more out of kindness than any other reason, but it interferes so much with his own sense of what he wants to find in life that after a year his ne'er-do-well indifference makes the heroine attempt to commit suicide. The effort fails only because she has forgotten to put a shilling in the gas meter. Starting from this attempted suicide, the film proceeds through a series of flashbacks in monologue, each of them devoted to the development of the romance from the point of view of the wife, the lover, and the husband. Emlyn Williams as the kind and generous husband is a little hard to believe at first, since one is so accustomed to seeing him as one of the great monsters of the age. But as the story goes forward one forgets that he is Emlyn Williams as Miss Leigh's skill renders the reality of her infatuation more and more believable, giving the role of the heroine the sustained imaginative sympathy of a great actress Thus when her lover, about to depart from England for Canada, partly in an effort to extricate himself from a relationship which has become too intense and serious for him, tells her that nine months are quickly over, her reply—that nine months can sometimes be longer than a lifetime—has the dignity and conviction of genuine tragedy.

MISS LEIGH does equally well throughout the film in representing the plight of a women who has had to sacrifice everything but love for sake of love. It is only the resolution of her plight, the glib and sudden ending based upon the insight of a doctor who befriends her which exposes the weakness of the film as a whole: the heroine's plight has been conceived as merely a choice of an attractive and weak young man in the place of a noble but unexciting husband. Miss Leigh's performance suggests a good deal more than a choice between two human beings: it suggests the permanent human conflict between the dictates of the heart and everything which otherwise is desirable, admirable and noble.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ



$3.95 at all bookstores. RANDOM HOUSE, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THEATRE

A Great Play Superbly Done

A *Month in the Country,* Stanislavsky says, "is built on the most delicate curves of love experience." *Curves* is indeed an apt word to help describe this elusive masterpiece. The action of the play might be imaged as a set of beautifully drawn and related curves. Love seems to come curving at the characters through the air, like some dangerous, but deft, missile. Now, though sexual passion is the subject of most mediocre plays, it is, I believe, the subject of relatively few great ones. And from any of these few—*Phèdre* or even *A Month in the Country*—one can see pretty clearly what the difficulty is, namely: in that "two hours' traffic" which is a play to render both the directness of love and its indirectness, its single impact and its mixed motives, its frontal attacks and its manifold devious strategies.

In actual fact, *A Month in the Country* is superbly constructed, as anyone who wishes to list the scenes and note their bold yet subtle inter-relationships can verify. There is an element of "Chekhovism" in the general scheme: the country house, the kind of people who live there, the arrival-and-departure pattern of the story, the way people seem to be drifting in and out, the way various people are going their various ways (a great deal of fun and pathos accruing from the variety). But in his dramaturgy Turgenev is traditional, it seems to me, to the point of being classic. There is something very like main plot and subplot in the juxtaposition of the romantic love story of Natalia Petrovna and the comic courtship of the Doctor. The two plots are significantly connected by the Doctor's marrying off of Natalia's rival (Vera) to a rich neighbor. And a frame for both plots is suggested by brief but vivid scenes among the servants. We see, not just a family, but a society. In this play in which Turgenev, as is famous, anticipated modern psychological drama, he also retained the ingenious plot and strict, intricate structure of the older theatre. (How Ben Jonson or Molière would have enjoyed the handling of the "cuckold's" deception! The final sequence shows a masterly handling of cross purposes.) For our time, *A Month in the Country* is more than praiseworthy: it is exemplary.

THE Phoenix Theatre, where the play is running, has been in the habit of inviting just about anybody with a Name to go down to Second Avenue and run amok among the classics. The place seemed destined to become a graveyard for mangled masterpieces. But now the dull fizzle of damp squibs has been followed by the sparkling and awe-inspiring flight of a genuine rocket. *A Month in the Country* is a beautiful show, and not by accident.

Michael Redgrave had a double qualification as director: he knew the play backwards and he was able to bring to it his unequalled combination of practical and theoretical understanding. His production has something better than "polish"—a word which is coming to mean little more than "gloss"—it has a liquid grace which is a rare bird indeed.

What I feel to be the limitations of the show derive less from its direction than from its text, which is, for America, much too British, and, for any place, a little too stagey. Mr. Redgrave says that Emlyn Williams, the adaptor, "compressed" the Turgenev script, but the truth is that while Mr. Williams makes some large cuts he often takes more and fancier words to render a Russian phrase than does Constance Garnett. Granting that most of Turgenev's play still comes through, and that many parts are serviceably spruced up to smarten the pace or "point" a joke, I think that an adaptor who is not above padding many lines *out* might certainly have left *in* lines that are invaluable keys to character——such as the line stating that Islaev, Natalia's husband, once had his dreams, or the lines revealing that Natalia herself had no youth because she had to play Antigone to a blind father. On the one hand, Mr. Williams Angelicizes and, as best he is able, Dickensifies; on the other, he pushes theatrical know-how beyond the point of diminishing returns, and much of the dialogue is so "well-adapted to the stage," that a lot of the juice of real Russia, real life, has had to be drained off. Then again, there is a reckless sort of inaccuracy, which I can illustrate from one example among many. Natalia calls the Doctor a small-town Talleyrand. The theatre-wise Mr. Williams, deciding to substitute a name his audience will know, chooses that of Machiavelli! But Turgenev's Doctor was a *Talleyrand,* crawling ignobly from one regime, as it were, to another, avoiding notice for a while, hanging on, then turning up again large as life.

The acting—except for two of the small roles—is on a very high plane. Here again, the Phoenix is to be congratulated on breaking with its bad old traditions and choosing people qualified, not by Name only (or, in some cases, at all), but by talent and by the spirit in which they come to their task. "Type casting" would not lead to the choice of Uta Hagen as Natalia, but she gives us the character as completely as we could ever hope to have it, and thereby makes the action of this difficult drama absolutely transparent. What a pleasure it is to watch Miss Hagen at work on a scene! Particularly thrilling to me were her moments alone with the audience. (Why were monologues abolished?) She sweeps down towards the footlights exclaiming: "For the first time in my life I am in love!" and we feel our hearts jump at the fine, free audacity of it. Like Turgenev himself, this actress is able to be both modern and traditional, subtle and broad, turned-in-towards-herself and turned-out-toward-the-public.

APART from these brief solos, we see Miss Hagen—and this, really, is her speciality—in relationship, fluid, quicksilver relationship, with others; that ebb and flow, that constant subtle fluctuation, is what carries us along. Now here is something the stage can do which the novel cannot do: record, and offer to the senses, the immediacies of personal exchange—the glance as it meets the eye of another, and as it withdraws again—the smile as it produces an answering smile, or fails to. Such things are the actor's materials. But we only see their nature and recognize their potentiality when they are exploited to the hilt. *A Month in the Country* is full of intimate scenes between two people. Those between Miss Hagen and Alexander Scourby (Rakitin) and those between Miss Hagen and Olga Bielenska (Vera)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

best exemplify the marvellous reciprocity I am speaking of.

Where, by the way, has Mr. Scourby been hiding all this assured and persuasive elegance? He gives a gleaming performance in a role that might easily have seemed tarnished or even rusty. Miss Bielenska's voice is, perhaps, not quite ready for a theatre as big as the Phoenix, but she has composed a very accurate and rounded portrait of Vera and, what is even harder, has known how to prepare, and not seem to prepare, the surprises in the role, and also how to let Vera grow up in the course of the action till, a full-grown woman, she can cry: "You are my rival!" Not strongly supported by his partner in the sub-plot courtship, Luther Adler as the Doctor does enough acting for two. Even the expression to "take stage" does not say what happened when this actor comes on. *Take* the stage, indeed! He picks it up and throws it to the back of the balcony. An actor of the good old school, he makes big stuff out of everything; an entrance, an exit, a sitting down, a standing up, a taking of snuff —they are Events, like a presidential address or the announcement of a new invention. Physically there isn't very much of Mr. Adler; what there is is all actor; and, in the old European (or should I say Jewish?) way, he uses all of it—literally, from top to toe, the body stooping or swaying, the hands, the whole arm, busy, busy, busy—to say or do the least little thing. He is full of all the excess energy of the comic tradition—like Dickens or Dickens' creations. His Doctor is a whirlwind of a performance, carrying you away, as whirlwinds will, and leaving you breathless. Were ever so many of an author's comic points made in such rapid succession? With so many added that the author never dreamed of? I end cursing New York that has scarcely let me see this comedian before in four years of reviewing, but blessing the Phoenix for letting me see him now in this great part in this great play.

ERIC BENTLEY

Notes on Contributors

MORTON J. FRISCH is on the faculty of the College of William and Mary. J. F. MATLOCK JR. teaches Russian Literature and Language at Dartmouth. BROCK BOWER is a Rhodes Scholar.

LETTER FROM OXFORD

Mr. Auden Takes the Gown

WHEN W. H. Auden returns to Oxford this month to become Professor of Poetry, the twenty-foot slogan, "VOTE FOR AUDEN," painted in white down "the Broad," will probably still be there as a memento of the struggle to get him elected. It was put there one night by students on a propaganda lark, one that expressed a genuine undergraduate preference, but unfortunately had little to do with the voting, which was limited to M.A.'s. However, they managed to set it just where the Sheldonian busts of the Roman Emperors—upon whose concrete brows perspiration is supposed to have started when Zuleika Dobson passed in her landau long ago —might catch it out of the corners of their eyes. It probably shocked them as Zuleika did.

Auden was elected to the professorship—the first American citizen ever to hold the position—by 216 votes, over, particularly, Sir Harold Nicholson, literary biographer and one-time member of Parliament. The candidacy of Sir Harold was as much an imperial effort to keep Auden out as to put Sir Harold in. It was the work of what the undergraduate magazine *Isis* called "the Establishment," the older and more conservative dons, who have thought Auden's poetry bunkum since he began publishing it in 1930, and who feel no better about his left-winging in the Thirties, or his leaving England for the United States in 1938. The charge that Auden "left England in her time of need," though recently revived, was probably as a smokescreen for a more personal grudge against the poet.

The challenge of Sir Harold's candidacy, however, fell short. After a hectic week during which all the undergraduate publications plumped for Auden, and Dr. Enid Starkie—a formidable Irish lady don, who wears a red corduroy beret and matching slacks with a blue dufflecoat—dug up 102 nominators for him, Auden was elected by a plurality of 24 votes over Sir Harold.

The chief hindrance to Auden's election, his professional qualifications notwithstanding, was the Third Class that he got in Final Schools Examinations, a fact that "the Establishment" pointed out with some horror. On the other hand, Nevill Coghill, Auden's tutor at Oxford, insists:

> He was absolutely First Class; but during schools something happened to him. He was overworked, overstrained. But you know Sir Walter Raleigh's remark, don't you? "The scholars end up in the First Class, and the poets smile at them from the Third.

The smile in Auden's case, however, has always been a wry one. As humorous as he can be in verse, the result is most likely to be the terrorist having his little joke. Auden has calmed down considerably since he was the *enfant terrible* even of his own circle in the Thirties; he has become deeply religious, and his later poetry has been, in part, a study of this awakening. But it is still a question whether he is anywhere near sober enough for the Emperors.

It is best perhaps to hope not. "There has always been a part of Auden that is permanently twelve-years-old," as Coghill puts it, and this eccentricity, much of a drawback as it may be at times, might provide just the sort of shock that the Oxford English School needs.

CLEARLY, Auden's election was a call from the Moderns over the Ancients, but, now that Auden has the call, does he have the message? Many have said that as outlandish as he has been in the past, he was much more alive then than he is now, that he is approaching dangerously near to Wordsworth's later spiritlessness. His latest book, *The Shield of Achilles,* has been reviewed with more honor done to past performance than to the present poems.

On the other hand many people think he has matured, grown in wisdom, while still maintaining his fire.

In any case, when he arrives at Oxford this month, the ex-revolutionary will soon be caught up in the hoariest of traditions. One of his first duties will be to deliver the Creweian Oration at the Encenia, the annual commemoration of the founders of Oxford—in Latin.

BROCK BROWER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

(*Continued from page* 3)

owly, we might as well walk alongside ıe wagon." The Rabbi consented. Vhen they reached the top of the hill, ıe coachman stopped the horse to give ım a brief rest, and the Rabbi started to imb back into the wagon. The coachıan stopped him. "Rabbi," he said, God be with you, look how steep the ıll is, and the poor horse, just skin and ones, will not be able to hold the 'agon back. You might, God forbid, et killed. I shall have to hold the horse ack, as is." The Rabbi got out of the 'agon. By the time they reached the ɔot of the hill, they had arrived at their estination. The Rabbi went into the ttle hotel; the coachman unhitched his orse and provided him with food. Then ıe Rabbi knocked on the window, ılled the coachman in, paid him the mount agreed upon, and said to the ɔachman: "I want to ask you someıing. I can understand why I am here. came here because I have this arbitraon. *You* came here because you have ɔ make a living, but, why, pray, did you ıke the poor horse along?"

Why, indeed. Why were the Canaian and Mexican officials there, and, ɔr that matter, why was Ike there? Are ıere no golf courses nearer to Washıgton?

MAX H. WEINBERG, M.D.

ittsburgh, Penna.

► *Kefauver's Presidential Bid*

IRS:

So some of your readers think Keauver's victory over Stevenson in Minesota is part of a Machiavellian plot to iscredit the Democratic front-runner nd to get us Democrats to nominate a 'eaker candidate, Estes Kefauver. And am Marie of Roumania.

Back in 1952 I remember a fairy tale rom Taft Republicans. It went, "The)emocrats are tearing down Bob Taft ɔ that we'll nominate Eisenhower. They now they can beat him." I hate to acuse my fellow liberals of the same kind of obtuseness that characterized the Neanderthal Republicans, but the evidence is in. On the record Stevenson can not win this fall and Kefauver at least has a chance. . . . Instead of just educating the electorate this fall, let's try to win an election.

RICHARD G. ELLIOTT

Cedar Rapids, Iowa

The New Republic welcomes communications from its readers in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less lend themselves to publication more readily than longer letters.

". . . the secret of perpetual motion"

SIRS:

Concerning Estes Kefauver's recent discovery of the secret of perpetual motion in his New Jersey campaign, (*NR,* April 9) apparently some of his magic dust descended into Bloomfield, N. J., as he was scurrying from Teaneck to Nutley.

In a Social Studies test given to the fifth graders whom I teach, this question was asked: "Who assumes the Presidency in case of the death of the President?" In this New Jersey "pre-primary," several students answered . . . "Kefauver"!

ROBERT D. BHAERMAN

Bloomfield, N. J.

► *The Meaning of the Scrolls*

SIRS:

The articles on the Dead Sea Scrolls (*NR,* April 9) should help to settle the dust raised by all the obiter dicta contributed by the do-it-yourself theologians. Even that old favorite TRB ventured into this highly specialized field. Of course, every man is a theologian but not all speak with the same clarity and competence of such scholarly matters as the meaning of the Scrolls.

MARTIN T. GILLIGAN

Dayton, Ohio

► *Conspiracy and History*

SIRS:

NR April 9th issue exposed man's most common trait, and in no less than three articles.

The Dead Sea Scrolls disclose the antiquity of the "conspiracy theory of history" so effectively (and I believe truthfully) attributed, by Richard H. Rovere, to General MacArthur in that MacArthur's "battle" is, as in the days when the Scrolls were written, a "War of the sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness."

That accounts for two articles exposing the "Saints (that's us) and sinners (that's you)" thesis. I was amazed to find the same thesis expressed by some of "us liberals."

M. G. Stiles and Ethel Owen Merrill are "True Believers" in the thesis that Minnesota Republicans crossed over (pursuant to conspiracy) and voted for Kefauver to down the "strongest candidate) (Stevenson). This is based upon irrefutable premise that Governor Stevenson is the strongest candidate, in order to prove the conclusion that Governer Stevenson is the strongest candidate, hence Kefauver's victory is explainable only by GOP conspiracy.

Is it not possible that Independents and Republicans of independent mind crossed over for the same reason the chicken crossed the road because it preferred the other side?

ANDREW JACOBS

Indianapolis

► *Bernard DeVoto's Papers*

SIRS:

Stanford University has become the depository of the library and the papers of Bernard DeVoto. The collection will be of maximum use to scholars and historians if all those who have DeVoto correspondence will make it available to Stanford. A letter to the Office of the Director, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, California, concerning any such correspondence will be answered with alacrity and gratitude.

WALLACE STEGNER

Stanford, Calif.

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN'S
NEW MUSICAL SMASH HIT
PIPE DREAM
SHUBERT THEA., W. 44 St. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

TO AUTHORS
seeking a publisher

Send for our free, illustrated booklet titled **To the Author in Search of a Publisher.** Tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book. All subjects considered. New authors welcome. Write today for booklet RP. It's free.
VANTAGE PRESS, INC., 120 W. 31 St., N. Y. 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28
In Wash., D. C.: 1010 Vermont Ave., N.W.

BRITISH BOOKS—ALL SUBJECTS. Catalogue free. Wants solicited. Transbooks, Box 22-NR, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With Pride, "The New Republic" Takes Note of the Presentation This Week of the

SIDNEY HILLMAN AWARD

TO

ROBERT ENGLER

for his study of "Oil and Politics," a series of six articles published by this magazine in 1955

Our congratulations to Mr. Engler and to the other recipients of this year's Sidney Hillman Awards: John Lord O'Brian, for his book, *National Security and Individual Freedom*; Ben H. Bagdikian, for his newspaper series in the *Providence Journal-Bulletin* analyzing government security programs; Murrey Marder, *Washington Post*, for articles on aspects of civil liberties; *Labor*, a weekly labor paper, for articles on federal regulatory agencies and on aspects of civil liberties.

The New Republic *has a limited number of copies of reprints of "Oil and Politics," available at 50c per copy (less for quantity orders.) Order from The* New Republic, *1826 Jefferson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED